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ABSTRACT

The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) has developed five sets of measures to respond to the problems of the transition from school to working life. These are (1) Arbeitslehre (learning about the world of work); (2) vocational guidance, involving multimedia, open-access vocational information centers and close coordination with the Arbeitslehre program; (3) Berufsvorbereitungsjahr (vocational orientation year); (4) Berufsgrundbildungsjahr (a basic foundation year that is designed to be a first-year training program, which is appropriate for a group of approximately 460 defined trades); and (5) apprenticeships. The traditional (and basic) system of vocational education and training in the FRG is known as the Dual System. Under this system, youths on a training contract or apprenticeship receive appropriate vocational training in a contracting firm and also attend a vocational school one day each week. In addition, each Land in the republic is free to make its own organizational arrangements for the provision of upper secondary education and apprenticeship training. Although apprentice wages are generally low, the system is accepted because of the social and economic status that comes with achieving the Meister certificate, which remains the most valuable and significant qualification available in the manual sector of West German industry. (MN)

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THE INSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND FOR THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORKING LIFE IN THE FRG

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Russ Russell
January 1984

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Further Education Staff College

This paper was first delivered at a Binational Conference on the Sociology of the Transition from School to Working Life, held in Berlin. Further papers for the conference may be obtained from the author.

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I THE BASIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

1 The Federal Republic of Germany comprises the 11 Länder (States) and under the basic constitutional law of 1949 they are responsible for all educational matters. At that stage of the establishment of the Federal Republic there was a distrust of strong central government and a determination to establish the Länder as autonomous in these matters. Some co-ordination is nevertheless needed since, for example, the Basic Law guarantees the freedom of movement, the freedom to choose one's place of work, and one's place of education. Therefore the Länder must co-operate to ensure that the structures, institutions, curricula and leaving certificates are broadly comparable.

2 The chief organ for co-ordination has been the Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Standing Conference of the Education Ministers of the Länder of the Federal Republic of Germany) usually known as the Kultusministerkonferenz or the KMK. This was established shortly before the Federal Republic and has made several hundred agreements, being particularly active in the period 1954 to 1964 when much standardisation was achieved. Success here is in part due to the fact that within each Land a tight central control exists.

3 This has in effect standardised the first (or compulsory) stage of secondary education into three main types of school in which the first two years are an orientation stage with syllabuses common to all types of school so children can be easily transferred if their original placement proves unsuitable.

a. Hauptschule (Secondary Modern or Main School) attended by half the age group, and offering classes up to Grade 9 (15 years). The leaving certificate indicating a satisfactory completion of the school work is called the Hauptschulabschluß, giving entry to a variety of trade training and some full-time courses in the second stage secondary education.

b. Realschule (Technical Grammar) attended by a quarter of the age group, and offering classes up to Grade 10 (16 years). Students can then take the Mittlere Reife (Intermediate Certificate) which is an entry qualification to full-time FE (Fachoberschule). Alternatively, students may leave full-time schooling and take up employment, usually with on-the-job training and with compulsory day-release.

c. Gymnasium (Grammar School) attended by a quarter of the age group, and offering full-time academic courses up to Grade 13 (19 years), preparing students for entry to higher education. Pupils at the end of the course take the Abitur examination which gives access to University and Higher Education. Pupils who leave at the end of the tenth grade with satisfactory performance are regarded as having a Realschulabschluß, or Mittlere Reife.

4 Through the KMK an agreement has been reached that all Länder shall experiment with the Gesamtschule (Comprehensive School). Full integration is difficult because the leaving certificate for the traditional three types still dominates employers' minds. Some Länder are more enthusiastic about this provision than others. The exact proportion of entry to each type of school varies from Land to Land. For example:

1979	Hauptschulen	Realschulen	Gymnasien	Gesamtschulen	Total
Berlin	43.5%	15.2%	21.4%	19.9%	100%
Nordrhein-Westfalen	42.0%	24 3%	30.4%	3.3%	100%
Baden Württemberg	36.6%	30.5%	30.4%	2.5%	100%
FRG	43 2%	25.0%	27.9%	3.9%	100%

5 At the end of compulsory schooling about 60% of the young people leave and take up a vocational training contract. The traditional (and basic) system of vocational education and training in the Federal Republic of Germany is known as The Dual System. Under this system a young person on a training contract or apprenticeship receives appropriate vocational training in the firm with which the contract is made and also, by Law, has to attend a vocational school for one day a week where an appropriate vocational education is provided. This system is in essence well established and is generally highly regarded. Maintaining co-ordination in the system is not easy.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORKING LIFE

6 All West European countries have faced problems deriving from the rise in the number of young people entering the labour market between 1970 and 1982, at a time when the economy was hesitating in its overall provision of employment and simultaneously demanding more of those it employed. The Federal Republic of Germany has responded with five specific sets of measures.

ARBEITSLEHRE

7 Arbeitslehre, or learning about the world of work, has been developed as a specific component in the curriculum of the Hauptschulen. By re-designing and re-grouping certain subjects, and by curriculum development and re-orientation of the teachers the authorities in the FRG, and in particular the KMK, have been trying to better prepare young people for work.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

8 The Bundesanstalt für Arbeit - BFA - (Federal Labour Office) has the sole legal responsibility for giving vocational counselling in the Federal Republic. There has been difficulty therefore in integrating this activity to the schools but, as a result of agreement between the KMK and the BFA, vocational guidance has been improved, strengthened, brought more firmly into the schools and linked closely to the Arbeitslehre programme. At the same time multi-media open-access Vocational Information Centres have been established for pupils and parents alike.

BERUFSVORBEREITUNGSJAHR - BVJ

9 The BVJ, or Vocational Orientation Year, has been developed because, despite the above measures, many young people leave school unprepared for work or apprenticeship. This is particularly true of young recent immigrants from ruralbackgrounds where little German is spoken. The Vocational Orientation Year, as well as other specific measures for vocational and social integration, are to provide for such young people. Courses are one-year full-time, usually cover two or more very different trade areas, and are frequently provided by charitable organisations using state funds. There are also a variety of 'Special Measures' for the vocational orientation and social integration of young people - MBSE - (Maßnahmen zur Berufsvorbereitung und sozialen Eingleiderung)

BERUFSGRUNDBILDUNGSJAHR - BGJ

10 The BGJ is different from the BVJ. It is a basic foundation year designed to be a first year training appropriate for all of a group of the 460 or so defined trades. There are 13 defined 'Vocational Fields' or clusters of jobs. The design intention is to provide both a better general education and vocational grounding for the young by seeing the commonality of certain basic skills and knowledge. It is to prepare, or lay foundations, for job or work change inevitable in a changing technology. It is regarded with suspicion by employers used to trade-specific training. Although theoretically available in full and part-time form (in co-operation with employers) only the full-time form has expanded, but largely as a 'holding pool' for those unable to obtain apprenticeships. This has served to raise the levels of suspicion in which the scheme is held.

APPRENTICESHIPS

11 The biggest programme of all has in a way been the simplest. As a result of big campaigns from the Bund (Federal Authorities) and employers organisations the number of apprenticeships offered by employers has increased faster than the age group coming forward over the last eight years. This has been partly an aspect of social policy and partly a conscious stock-piling of skilled labour for the period after 1986 when the number of young people coming forward will fall very low.

III THE DUAL SYSTEM

12 The traditional (and basic) system of vocational education and training in the Federal Republic of Germany is known as the Dual System. Under this system a young person on a training contract or apprenticeship receives appropriate vocational training in the firm with which the contract is made and also, by law, has to attend a vocational school for one day a week where an appropriate vocational education is provided. This system is in essence well established and is generally highly regarded. Maintaining co-ordination in the system is not easy.

13 The constitution of the FRG guarantees the control of education, and this is held to include vocational education, to the Länder. Vocational training and vocational guidance on the other hand are the responsibility of the Bund.

REGISTRATION OF BUSINESSES

14 All business activities (individuals or firms) must register with the local Chamber (Kammer) and pay the appropriate fees to the Chamber. The Chambers are established under public law, are non-profit making, have compulsory membership and achieve high participation by members in electing and participating in the collective affairs in the main Council and its committees.

15 Most firms register with the local Industrie- und Handelskammer (Chamber of Industry and Commerce) but firms carrying out activities within the defined list of 125 'Handwerk' trades may register with the local Handwerkskammer (Chamber of Crafts). Most firms in 'Handwerk' are small. They are the butchers, the bakers, the cabinet makers, the jobbing builders, the hairdressers and so on. Frequently, when they grow large, or diversify, they transfer their registration to Industrie- und Handelskammer.

LEGAL BASIS OF TRAINING

16 Currently the detailed arrangements and legal authority for the Vocational Training side of the Dual System derive from two main Federal Laws :

a. Berufsbildungsgesetz - 1969 - (Vocational Education Act)

b. Berufsbildungsförderungsgesetz - 1981 - (Vocational Education Development Act)

17 The object of initial training is defined in the 1969 Act as follows :

> *"to provide through a systematic training programme a broadly conceived basic preparation for an occupation and the necessary technical abilities and knowledge to engage in a skilled form of occupational activity. Initial training shall also enable a trainee to acquire the necessary occupational experience."*

18 Under the Berufsbildungsgesetz of 1969 the basic position is as follows :

a. All training contracts (apprenticeships) must be registered as being for one of the 460 or so occupations defined and established by the Bund.

b. The training contract must be registered with the Chamber with which the employer is registered (all businesses must be so registered) and supervised by that Chamber which will conduct the terminal examination and test for the award of skilled status.

c. The training and testing will be within and to curriculum and standards established in the Ausbildungsordnungen (Training Regulations) issued by the Bund.

d. All workers on training contracts are guaranteed day-release (or block-release) for the length of the contract (under Länder law, derived from KMK agreements, all workers under 18 - with or without training contracts - are required to attend Berufsschule on day-release).

e. All training must be supervised by appropriately qualified personnel. These may be appropriate higher education graduates but are usually qualified Meister (Master Craftsmen). The training may also be supervised by holders of the Training Aptitude Certificate.

f. The length of training is laid down in the regulations but can be varied by agreement if, for example, the apprentice has undertaken appropriate full-time studies at a specialist school.

19 By long tradition the Ausbildungsordnungen are issued by the Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft - BMWi - (Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs) but in practice since the establishment of a Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft - BMBW - (Federal Ministry of Education and Science) in 1969, the detailing of these is supervised mainly by the BMBW. In practice the bulk of the work is carried out by the Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung - BIBB - (Federal Institute for Vocational Training), a large research and development institute largely responsible to and established by BMBW but having a measure of independence. BIBB also conduct basic research, statistical monitoring and develop teaching and training materials and equipment.

20 The Länder co-operate to provide appropriate vocational education and through the KMK issue Rahmenlehrpläne, appropriate syllabuses in an outline form, thus providing a comparability of education between Länder. Most Länder have a process of further detailing this syllabus and providing advice and teaching materials to the Berufsschule. In more recent years KMK and the Bund have agreed a process for the co-ordination of a simultaneous revision of the Ausbildungsordnungen and Rahmenlehrpläne. This further improves the process of co-ordination.

ADMINISTRATION

21 The supervision of programmes, as well as examining, administration and advisory functions, is carried out by the Industrie und Handelskammern and Handwerkskammern. The statutory regulations for the practical implementation of training are decided by a Chamber's occupational training committee. This consists of six employers' representatives and six teachers from vocational schools, though the latter have only an advisory function.

22 In 1981 the 69 Industrie und Handelskammern supervised 771,300 occupational-training contracts of 147,416 employers and 43 Handwerkskammern supervised 676,200 contracts with 232,000 employers in 1979.

STATUS

23 Not all of the 460 or so trades defined in Federal regulations would be regarded in England as 'skilled'. They are not all of the same level of difficulty or achievement. They lead to the status of Facharbeiter or Geselle, words sometimes used as synonyms.

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24 All the above implies a high level of general social commitment to and respect for training. The monetary and social status of the Facharbeiter in FRG is high, and this is often seen within FRG as well as the UK as a key to the success of the West German economy. It should be added that the further status of Meister (Craftsman) may also be regarded as crucial to the status of skilled worker. This higher status is achieved by further study after experience as a craftsman, and loans are available from the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit - BFA - (Federal Labour Office) to support these studies. In law one must be a Meister to register and practise the 125 Handwerk trades, to be an employer, to take on or supervise apprentices. Many large firms also make this a normal qualification for supervision in work places. Furthermore skilled status gives access to further training for the qualification of Techniker (Technician), and it also gives access to other forms of further training described in Section V of this paper.

POLITICAL ASPECTS

25 The Industrie- und Handelskammern are organised into regional, Länder and Federal level organisations for the purpose of influencing matters of interest to them. This also applies to the Handwerkskammern. This provides a regional basis of influence. Organisations in Industrie may voluntarily join both *'industrial'* organisations for *'sector interests'* and employers organisations for collective bargaining. Local, regional and Federal level organisations exist. Meisters in the Handwerk trades may join trade specific Innungen (Guilds); again, local, regional and Federal level organisations exist.

26 The trade unions - TU - play a large part in the system. They are well-informed, well-staffed and have clear and coherent policies. The political system of the Federal Republic recognises *'the social partners'* of employers, employees and the state as having a corporate responsibility for the affairs of society. This is expressed at all levels. The board of management of the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, for example, is composed of equal representation; local committees for the BFA are so composed; BIBB includes TU representation on its board of management; the Chambers of Industry have TU membership on the committees that oversee apprenticeship training and testing; TU membership on Länder committees; and so on. Pride in skill is maintained in a corporate way which maintains status differentials.

IV THE UPPER SECONDARY SYSTEM

27 This stage of education is complex for four main reasons :

a. Each Land is free to make its own organisational arrangements, although there is KMK agreement on the basic types of course and certificate to be provided

b. A particular certificate of satisfactory completion of a type of school (course) usually gives a right of entry to other forms of education

c. There has been an attempt to break down barriers between general and vocational education and to open up more routes as implied in b. above.

d. Developments continue.

28 The tradition is for mono-technic single-level schools. More recently, more than one type or level of course has been clustered into a single organisation. Or more than one technology put onto a single campus or organisation. The organisational and administrative patterns tend to link the 'schools' very closely to the inspectorate rather than to other disciplines on the same campus. To some extent the name of a type of school is used in much the same way as the course-description is used in the UK; so that where more than one type of course is offered the institution may be given a name, for example, of a famous engineer, but the course-types offered described in a full title.

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

29 By agreement between the Länder, the main types of vocational school are as follows :

a. Berufsschulen (Vocational College - Part-Time)

These colleges are the oldest part, the heart of the vocational education system. They provide organised basic instruction in theory on a day- or block-release basis for those who hold an apprenticeship. They are the educational half of the Dual System. The system is highly regarded, often with great affection as being the basis of German craftsmanship and industry. The system is not without its critics and this criticism together with general social change has led to a large number of variations. The Berufsschulen provide part-time education for all under 18, for those over 18 who are apprenticed, and full-time education for pupils on a Berufsgrundbildungsjahr (See paragraph 10 of this paper). Currently

there are about 2,300 Berufsschulen providing for about 1,800,000 pupils.

b. Fachschulen (Advanced Vocational Colleges)

Fachschulen are continuation schools, admission to which depends on completion of an appropriate course of vocational training (normally in the 'Dual System') and usually a further period of practical work experience. They may also require a Mittlere Reife (from Realschule) or a Fachschulreife (from Berufsaufbauschule) for entry. They offer a variety of types of course of specialised training and encourage general education. They are oriented, in the broadest sense, to career-development towards supervision, quality control or general management. Courses are taken full-time (for at least one year) or on a correspondingly longer part-time basis. They lead, as appropriate to the trades, to examinations for Techniker (Technician) Land-organised, Betriebswirt (General Administrator) Land-organised, or Meister - Kammern-organised. For further details see Section V of this paper. About 180,000 pupils are currently studying at Fachschulen. Most are over 22 years old.

c. Berufsfachschulen (Vocational Colleges - Full-time)

These schools provide at least one year's full-time vocationally oriented education. They provide general and trade related education for young people who are not yet ready to take an apprenticeship or seek work. Employers may make an agreement with the young person to reduce the length of their apprenticeship in regard to this training. The main function of these schools though, is to orient the young people to work and guide and prepare them for an apprenticeship. They are a growing part of the system. About 325,000 pupils are currently studying at Berufsfachschulen.

d. Berufsaufbauschulen (Continuation Vocational Schools)

Admission to many Fachschulen courses and many types of continuation education are governed by possesion of a 'Mittle Reife'. Pupils leaving the Hauptschule (over half the leavers) have no access to such a certificate except by attendance at the Berufsaufbauschulen either simultaneously or consecutively with the Berufsschulen. Some young people attend on a one-year full-time basis. The part-time courses are correspondingly longer. About 17,000 young people are currently undertaking such studies.

e. Fachoberschulen (Vocational Education Centres - Full-time)

Young people from Realschulen with a certificate of successful completion (or young people with its equivalent) may enter the Fachoberschule for a two-year full-time course. In the first year there is considerable emphasis on practical training in a trade, although students with a trade qualification may be exempt from this year. In the second year there is considerable emphasis on the

theoretical side and the terminal examination is a Fachhochschulreife, that is it gives the right of access to an appropriate course in a Fachhochschule. Students starting from a Hauptschule and successfully completing a Berufsfachschule may be awarded a Mittlere Reife which gives them right of access to the Fachoberschule. Currently about 120,000 people attend a Fachoberschule

30 We have already stated that names of institutions may not easily describe the courses taken in the institution. The titles given above are essentially for general types or levels of course, and local names may vary also by the use of the name of the trade to replace the general descriptions of 'Beruf' (Vocation) or 'Fach' (Specialised). Thus a 'Höhere Handelschule' is probably a 'Höhere Berufsfachschule' specialising in the commercial trades. Usually a visitor, using the above general descriptions, can clarify quickly what sort of work is going on in the institution.

V THE DUAL SYSTEM AND WHAT FOLLOWS

31 It can be a subject of great debate of how significant the low apprentice wages are to the motivation of the employers in the FRG. It is certainly true that they are on average low. The apprentice in the FRG gets, on average, only just over 40% of the skilled worker rate. The actual rates are subject to trade-by-trade negotiation and vary with the market. The average apprentice rate is made low by large numbers of apprentices in poorly paid trades. Some unpopular trades or trades that only appeal to a narrow range of the total population achieve high adult rates and high percentage rates for apprentices. The net result can be indicated in the following table:

Average apprentice wage during all stages of training in 1982:	
Mining Mechanic	988DM per month
Bricklayer	905DM " "
Bank Clerk	788DM " "
Sales Girl	551DM " "
Carpenter	481DM " "
Hairdresser	304DM " "
Source: Labour and Social Affairs Report, 4/83 Embassy of Federal Republic of Germany, London.	

32 It is not useful to make here the arguments against the centrality of low apprentice wages for the employers. It is much more interesting here to seek the reasons why, despite the low wages, the system remains popular with young people and with their parents. For the young men (whose wages tend to be higher) it creates a form of continuation of parental dependance between leaving school and entering military service. For the young women (whose wages tend to be lower) it creates effectively a total financial parental dependance until they qualify.

33 Parents seem to at the very least accept the system, for the following reasons:

a. the qualified skilled worker earns more than the unskilled even when working in other trades;

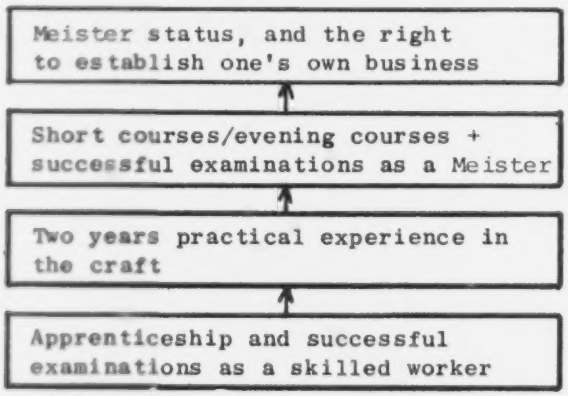
b. the social status and standing of skilled workers is high and supported throughout the social structure;

c. the qualification of skilled worker gives access to a range of formal qualifications for technician, quality-control, supervisory and middle-management jobs, as well as other forms of access to higher education;

d. the bulk of technicians, quality-control, supervisory and middle-management staff are recruited from the ranks of skilled worker (ex-apprentice) who usually, but may not, take the qualifications referred to above.

34 For these reasons, most parents are both proud and regard it as their duty to give their children access to the status of skilled worker. Their children seem to concur. It is possible for the cynics to say that the non-apprentice is doomed: Mere ability, knowledge, skill and hard work will not lead to promotion or recognition except via an apprenticeship. This is also to an extent true. It is possible thus to argue that one of the powerful driving forces of the Dual System, with its 650,000 new apprentices each year, is the system of further vocational education. The latter is a major explanation of the former. No study therefore of the Dual System is complete until it has been seen in terms of the system of further vocational education and career advancement.

35 For each trade area the pattern of further vocational education varies. No overall single simple uniform system applies. Nevertheless there are, as always, some key patterns and lines of development. The traditions of training do indeed lie in the systems of crafts. 'Handwerk' (as the hand crafts are known in the FRG) has always had its own simple tradition. If one wishes to independently practise one of 125 designated 'Handwerk' crafts, to advertise or take on apprentices one must quite simply be a 'Meister' (Master Craftsman). In order to become a 'Meister', a skilled worker must practise the craft after qualification for at least two years and take further examinations to become a Meister. The pattern is as follows:


Meister status, and the right to establish one's own business
Short courses/evening courses + successful examinations as a Meister
Two years practical experience in the craft
Apprenticeship and successful examinations as a skilled worker

In accordance with the legal rights of the Meister (as well as the consumer rights of the public) the Meister courses and examinations have come to contain four main elements for the individual development and examination of the Meister:

a. appropriate theoretical and scientific knowledge

b. appropriate craft skills

c. public and trading law, accounts, etc.

d. pedagogy and the training of apprentices.

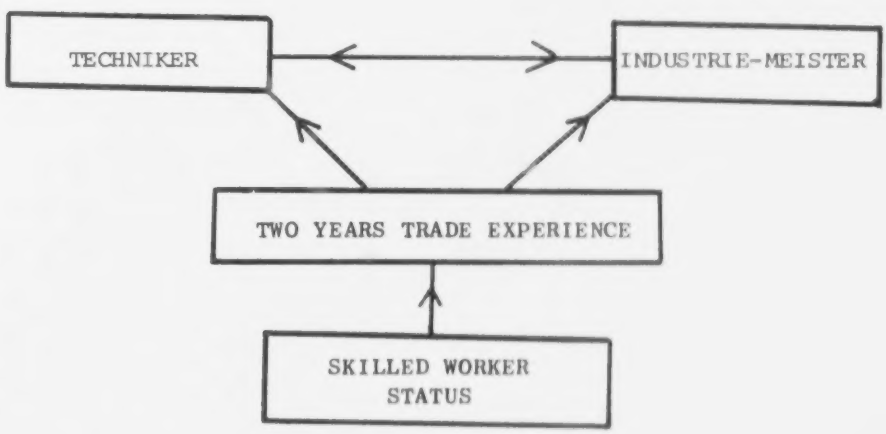
36 The two main systems of Chambers have been described in paragraph 15 above. In the politics of economic policy and development the two groups are known generally as 'Handwerk' and 'Industrie' (see also paragraph 25). Apprenticeships in Industrie are registered, supervised and examined by the Industrie- und Handelskammern.

37 In the more technical areas of Industrie (such as engineering, building, printing, etc.) where the trades are often the same as the Handwerk area, the larger firms have always respected and recruited skilled workers and Meister from Handwerk. Nevertheless they have not been entirely satisfied with the Handwerkmeister qualification. Accordingly they have both encouraged and participated in the formation of two alternatives:

a. the Techniker (Technician) - with a very strong emphasis on theoretical knowledge

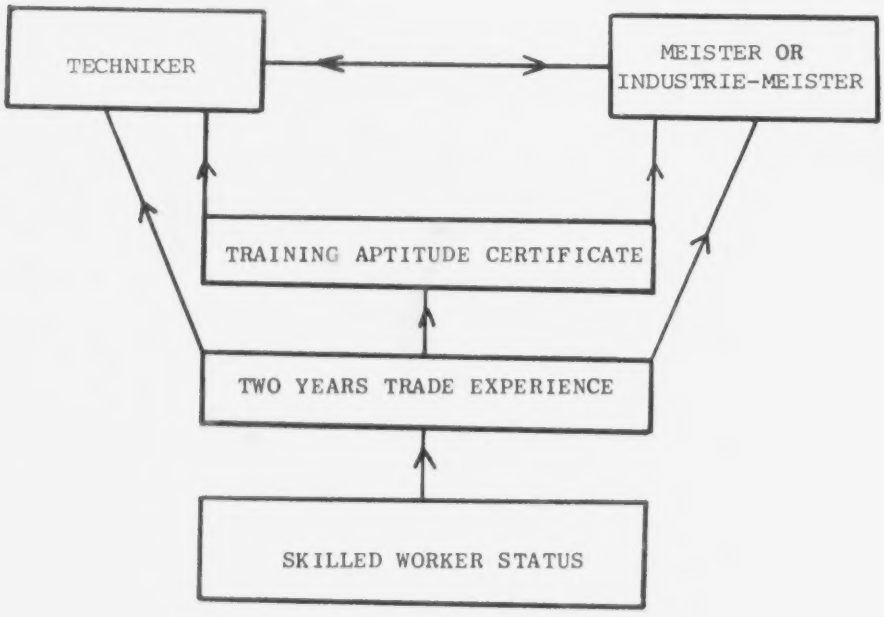
b. the Industrie-Meister - where the public law, accounts etc. syllabus are replaced with a syllabus suitable to a supervisor or middle manager in a firm and not an employer. Theoretical training and quality control may also be emphasised in the courses.

The pattern thus looks like this:



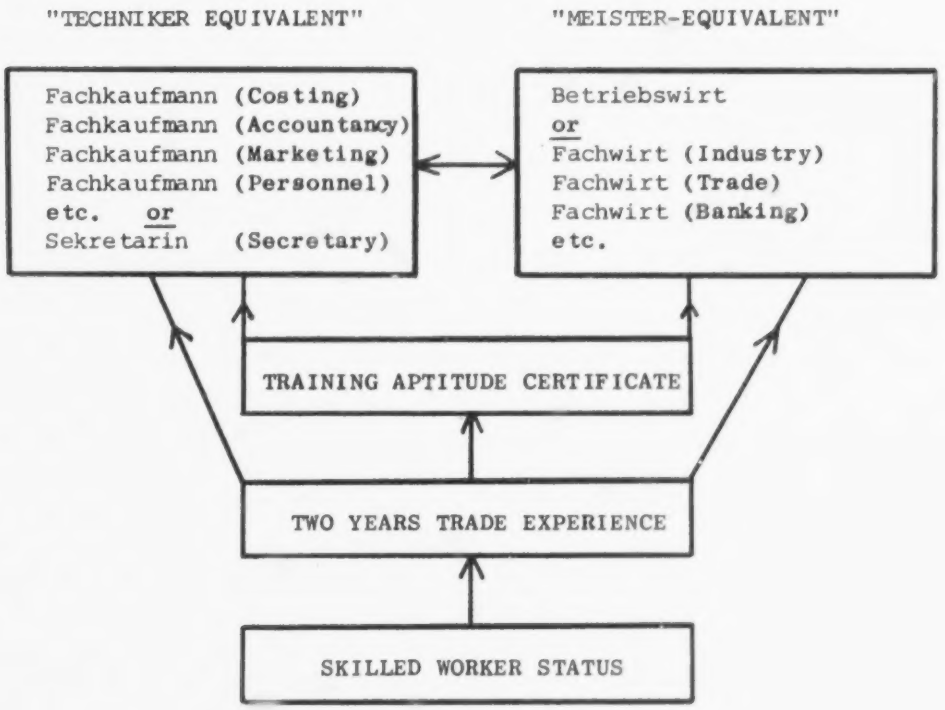
It is possible, but a little unusual, for skilled workers to obtain both of the advanced qualifications.

38 There is pressure on both Handwerk and Industrie to ensure that all apprentices are supervised by qualified personnel. There is always a difficulty in guaranteeing that there is always a Meister to conduct all supervision of the apprentice so a new qualification has been developed in addition to the two above: the Training Aptitude Certificate - TAC. This certificate (TAC) is an abstract of the pedagogical elements of the Meister certificate. As with the Meister, it can only be taken after two years practical experience in the trade. We can present the aggregate pattern as follows:



It should be noted that courses of study for these examinations are available on both full-time and part-time basis.

39 In the 'Commercial' areas of 'Industrie' a similar pattern has developed except that the language and titles are different in that the 'Meister Status' does not exist as such. The 'Meister' is replaced by General or Industrial Administrator and the Techniker by Functional Experts so that the pattern is as follows:


"TECHNIKER EQUIVALENT"
"MEISTER-EQUIVALENT"
Fachkaufmann (Costing)
Fachkaufmann (Accountancy)
Fachkaufmann (Marketing)
Fachkaufmann (Personnel)
etc. or
Sekretarin (Secretary)
Betriebswirt
or
Fachwirt (Industry)
Fachwirt (Trade)
Fachwirt (Banking)
etc.
TRAINING APTITUDE CERTIFICATE
TWO YEARS TRADE EXPERIENCE
SKILLED WORKER STATUS

VI THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEISTER *

40 It is a major thesis of this paper that the role of the Meister is crucial to understanding the transition from school to working life and the socialisation of the labour force. The Meister is not only responsible for the practical training in the firm, they also appear as 'Practical Teachers' in the Berufsschulen and on 'Special Measures' or BVJ courses (see paragraphs 9 and 29a).

41 The Meister then is a master craftsman, as the term is normally understood, but with a definite, institutionalised place in the workforce plus, in addition, a pedagogical function. A Meister will traditionally have been an apprentice and will have attended a Berufsschule as part of the Dual System of German vocational training. He or she will then have worked full-time as a skilled worker and then some two years later (at the minimum) have returned to an establishment of vocational education to attend a Meister course on either a full or part-time basis. Thus the Meister, responsible for training apprentices, has a background and experience like that of the apprentice.

42 The Meister certificate is the most valuable and significant qualification available in the manual sector of German industry. In addition to access to higher economic rewards not only is it proof of skill but also of reliability (for manners and morals as well as expertise are emphasised in Meister training); and not only is it proof of an ability to train and supervise apprentices but it is also a requirement for the opening of a business which involves any (of the several hundred) crafts or trades found in the Federal Republic. The institutionalised Meister system helps maintain the stability and dynamism of the German industrial economy. The authority of its traditional roots and its contemporary efficacy as a method of industrial training make it a unique form for the pursuance of economic goals. The Meister can be said to have five, inter-related, roles:

a. that of highly skilled, specialist worker;

b. that of supervisor;

c. that of trainer;

d. that of entrepreneur;

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* I have drawn extensively here on some earlier work of Michael Erben which is gratefully acknowled.

e. that of a regulator of, and role model for, moral behaviour. Moral behaviour here is taken to be a set of dispositions (as opposed to merely instrumental technical acts) that will intensify and encourage the effective, satisfactory attainment of attributes a. to d. above in relation to both the apprentice and the Meister.

43 The social role of the Meister is a unique one: he or she is at the intersection of two occupational worlds (especially so in large scale industry) - that of management on the one hand and that of workers on the other. There is also reason to believe that this position causes far less problems of self-identity than might be expected. The training of the Industriemeister includes a large element of training in knowledge and attitudes for this role (see also paragraph 37b) As a result efficiency tends to be enhanced in the training of apprentices, in ther supervision of work and in relations with senior management. These points will now receive some amplification.

44 Nor can the role of the Meister be regarded as a marginal role. Studies conducted in the USA and the UK have suggested that the foreman (one of the counterparts of the German Meister) has ceased to become a *key man* in the industrial setting. In many instances, it is claimed, the foreman has lost his function as it had previously been understood. By contrast, the Meister has retained this function and has had it publicly institutionalised by the Chambers, the Länder and Federal government. The Meister, especially the Industriemeister, is able to deal with and operate within two occupational cultures: that of the shop floor and that of management. The occupational history of any particular Meister ensures effective communication with the shop floor and the anticipatory socialisation, inherent in Meister training, similarly ensures effective communication with management. It is not that the Meister is unclear as to where he or she stands in a given occupational setting but rather that this inter-sectional placing *is* the declared, recognised occupational position.

45 The position of the Meister is not only awarded a status intra-organisationally, it is also recognised extra-organisationally by the culture as a desirable social role (in a way that the role of foreman in the UK is not). The Meister role is a social role that does not separate work culture from family culture. It is a role which is affectual, patriarchal, traditional, hard-working and skilled. Clearly then for many parents and young people the role of the Meister will not appear to deny family values but rather tend to formalise them in a work setting.

46 It seems that one way of describing the two role situations of the Meister is to concentrate on the two role-styles and to try to understand their relevance to systems of social cohesion and control. In dealing with either apprentice or 'shop-floor' workers the pattern of relationships probably maintained, and which the apprentices are progressively incorporated into, is that of affection, friendship, joking,

paternalism and that of a group solidarity based on common experiences. In a sense this is expressed in a shared 'language', particular to their common situation. On the other hand, with managers or clients the Meister conducts his dealings in a relatively universal language of purpose, organisation, accounting and profit. The language frame of these has, almost by definition, to be shared on a wide universalist basis with individuals that the Meister meets normally only in a work-situation. With the work-force the language is that of an 'in-group' that shares a work *and* social experience. The Meister is thus a key figure in mediating these two worlds; and in particular that of 'management' to the 'work-force' and is also a key figure in incorporating the apprentices to these two worlds of meanings. The Meister holds a stable social role and facilitates a dynamic set of industrial imperatives; the encouragement of social mobility, the acceptance by the individuals of their situations, and that of openness to management initiatives.

47 Having described these positions it is now possible to talk in more precise organisational terms of the relationships between apprentices and the Meister. All organisations manifest degrees of involvement by personnel; they further manifest degrees of power to which personnel are subject. For the apprentice, in both his or her training and work role, the Meister represents the organisation the apprentice has employment in. This is particularly clear where the Meister is the direct employer, but it is also present where the Meister, although not the direct employer, is the employer *de facto* as far as the apprentice's conception of the work situation is concerned, the Meister will represent both authority and power.

48 However, it is the case that the UK does not share such a tight-knit method for the training of industrial apprentices, nor given the development of the UK industrial pattern could such a system be readily introduced. In addition it might be thought that the Meister system precludes some aspects of the autonomous development of young people, that young people in such a system are denied the opportunity of thinking for themselves and acting independently, and that although the system is in some respects a cosy and hard-working one it provides too much social control and too much individual, moral surveillance.